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PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL
STUDIES AT ATHENS.

A HEAD OF POLYCLETAN STYLE FROM THE
METOPES OF THE ARGIVE HERAEUM.*

[PLATE XIV.]

The marble head which is here reproduced on PLATE XIV is one of the many interesting finds of this season's (1894) excavations by the American School of Athens at the Argive Heraeum. The members of the School who joined me in the work were Dr. Washington, Mr. Richard Norton, Mr. Hoppin, and Mr. Alden.

It would, of course, be impossible to give at the present moment an adequate account of these discoveries. For this we shall have to wait until the conclusion of the excavations, when the mere work of arranging the numerous objects and fragments will occupy a considerable period with arduous labor. But the important bearings of this head upon the other sculptures we have unearthed at the Heraeum, as well as upon the history of Greek art in its highest period, make it incumbent upon me to publish

* As a former pupil of Professor Henry Drisler, I deeply regret that I was not notified of the proposal to do him honor by dedicating to him a volume of essays written by his former pupils, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of his university work at Columbia College. I hope that, in accepting the dedication of this slight archæological essay, he will realize the lasting respect and gratitude which I feel for him.

C. W.

it at this early date, and to accompany the publication with some explanatory remarks, giving the main bearings of the discovery. These remarks are therefore of a purely preliminary character.

The head was found to the east of what on last year's plan we called the East Chambers, to the northeast of the second temple, and below the slope of the first or early temple. On a line with this point there appeared for a short distance (about eight feet) a continuation of the Cyclopean wall supporting the platform of the early temple. We had here to cut off the slope of the early temple to a depth of about twenty feet. The objects here found were chiefly of the Mycenæan and Dipylon period. But at the point where this marble head was found, nearer to the northeast corner of the second temple, there appears to have been an accumulation of *débris* massed together in either the Roman or the Byzantine period. A marble head of Roman workmanship was found in immediate proximity to this head. Mr. Hoppin was in charge of the work at the time of the discovery.

The head is of Parian marble, about one-half life-size, and represents a Greek youth or *ephebos*. It evidently came from an alto-rilievo, as the right side and ear are finished in work, while the left side and ear are not finished. The dimensions are: length of face from tip of chin to hair, 0.11 m.; breadth at ears, 0.08 m.; length of nose (tip to brow), 0.036 m.; length of mouth, 0.03 m.; distance from eye to ear, 0.04 m.; height of forehead, 0.03 m.; width of upper lip, 0.005 m.; distance from mouth to tip of chin, 0.03 m.; horizontal line from top of forehead to back of head, about 0.12 m.

It appeared to us immediately after the head was taken from the earth that there were clear traces of a reddish-brown color marking the iris of the left eye. These traces were visible for some time after and may be seen even now. But, as there were vestiges of similar color on other parts of the head, which may well have been caused by the oxidation of iron near it, I do not feel absolutely certain that the color on the eye is a remnant of the original coloring of the statue. So, too, the right side of the head has a uniform coating of some white color, which may be due to the remains of a ground-tone given to the whole head; or, on the other hand, it may be a chalky deposit caused by the chem-

ical action of matter lying about it, or of some additional treatment which the head experienced in later times.

The chief element of the archæological importance which this head possesses is the fact that it seems to bear traces of Polycletan art or influence. These must appear to any student trained in the rudiments of the history of Greek sculpture. And this fact will appear still more noteworthy in the light of the hasty statement of Professor Furtwängler recently published in his essay dedicated to Professor Brunn, and repeated in his *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*. In discussing the now well-known head which we discovered at the Heraeum in 1892, and for which the name Hera still remains the most suitable, Professor Furtwängler not only considers this head Attic in character, but he further states that "all the other sculptures found by us or by Rhangabé at the Heraeum have nothing whatever to do with Polycletus and his school." I have endeavored to refute this assertion in a letter recently sent to the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*. But the discovery of the head here published will, I must believe, finally demonstrate *ad oculos* the groundlessness of Professor Furtwängler's statement.

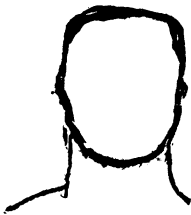
The Polycletan character of this head, and its close relation to the head of the famous *doryphoros*, in the Naples specimen as in all others, was manifest to me the moment the head was unearthed. This relationship to the heads which are universally acknowledged, by all authorities, to be Polycletan was subsequently admitted by all archæologists who visited the Heraeum.

To begin with the general impression of character, we find it the same in our marble head and in the types of the *doryphoros*.¹

¹ I have not reduced this critical comparison to the form of actual mathematical measurements. Though I think such attempts as have recently been made by A. Kalkmann (in his *Die Proportionen des Gesichtes in der griechischen Kunst*) meritorious and worthy of encouragement, I cannot myself follow this course, especially when it concerns heads of different dimensions, different workmanship, and different destination, such as metope-heads, pedimental heads, heads of statues, etc. I prefer to aim at a careful comparison of the technical and artistic characteristics based upon sober and unbiased observation, and then to endeavor to put, as accurately and soberly as possible and into definite terms, what is thus perceived; and finally to assign tangible and perceptible causes for this artistic appearance. It may be difficult to do this, and I may often fail in my endeavor; but I would beg the student to follow me closely in comparing photographs or, if possible, casts. I find that measurements in this case would not be of much use in dealing with phenomena so subtle and unmechanical, nay, more than organic—namely, artistic.

This general impression which these Polycleetan heads leave upon the spectator is that of squareness and massiveness. In the profile view this character approaches most closely to the possibility of mathematical demonstration. The outline, which depends more upon the rough blocking out of the marble, is more likely to retain the mathematical rules which guided the artist at this early stage. Now, if we ignore the curious rise of one mass of hair on the top of our head (which we may in this case discard as an individual trait not characteristic of the general style of the school), the proportions are singularly square. A perpendicular line drawn from the point of the chin upwards, and meeting the main horizontal line placed on the top of the head, is the same in length as this horizontal line bounded by perpendiculars running along the front and back of the head.

In the front-view, this impression of squareness and heaviness is maintained in the outline, in that the head is broad and comparatively short. This is best perceived by comparing the Polycleetan heads with the others, say of the well-known Lysippean and Praxitelean types. The outline of our head is thus large and square; while the Lysippean head of the *apoxyomenos* in the Vatican is small and round. Again, the Praxitelean head of the Hermes, though larger than either in proportion, is wider at the top and at the forehead, but is longer, and tapers toward the chin. The front-view outlines of these three types of head present the following shapes:



POLYCLEETAN DORYPHOROS.



LYSIPPEAN APOXYOMENOS.



HERMES OF PRAXITELES.

The impression of squareness and heaviness is further produced or strengthened by the treatment of the different features. The brow and eye present a simple, broad, and flat curve. Though in the profile view the root of the nose forms a marked projection,

still the eye is not deeply sunk, either in its relation to the brow and upper lid, or by the hollowing out of the portion below the lower lid, as is done in most heads of the fourth century B. C. The brow is thus broad and simple, and the distance between the eyelids is comparatively great, while the eyes are far apart. The line at the juncture between nose and brow is more rounded in our head than in the other heads of the *doryphoros* type.

The nose itself is broad and comparatively short. The tip is broad and rounded, not pointed and long, in profile view, as is the case, *e. g.*, in the Bologna bronze head called by Furtwängler the Lemnian Athena of Phidias, or in the *apoxyomenos*, or slightly drooping downwards, as in the Hermes. In these Polycletan heads the tip is not pointed as in the others, but, if we continue the lines of the bridge of the nose, it is the broadest part. Again, from nostril to nostril the nose is comparatively very broad; by contrast, that of the *apoxyomenos* (of which the nostrils are certainly unrestored) is in this respect much narrower, almost pinched in expression. The nose of the Polycletan head is one of the most effective features in giving to the face its heavy appearance.

The cheeks, especially in the profile view, present a comparatively plain surface, and their heaviness is heightened by the treatment of the chin. Unfortunately, a piece is broken away in the front of the chin of our head; still, the comparative absence of taper and its broadness and shortness are manifest, while, in the profile view, the distance from neck to chin is short.

But a most important feature is the mouth. This, slightly opened, has a somewhat pouting expression; and appears smaller than it really is, owing to the characteristic marked projection of the middle part of the thick lower lip, a feature which *all* the heads from the Heraeum have in common, and which they share with the heads hitherto admitted to be Polycletan. In the profile view, the deep grooving between the lower lip and chin accentuates the projection of the lip and adds to this pouting expression.

This expression of the mouth, coupled with the general proportions of the head, the broadness of brow, the wide distance between the eyes, the shortness and thickness of nose, the massiveness of cheek, jaw, and chin, give to the whole head a character of heaviness which contrasts strongly with the grace, softness, and roundness of Attic work.

Another marked feature which our head has in common with Polycletan heads is the position of the ears. The top of the ear is on a line with the upper eyelid, while the end of the lobe is on a line with the upper lip below the nose. A comparison with the *Capronesi* head in the British Museum, with the *apoxyomenos*, Hermes, and other fourth-century heads, shows a much higher position of the ear; while the various *doryphoros* heads, as well as the head of Hera, have the low position of the ear. In fact, all the features just enumerated are shared by our head and the types of the *doryphoros* in a marked degree.

But I must now also dwell upon the deviations in the style of this Heraeum head from that of the head of the *doryphoros*. Yet it will be found that the heads of works universally admitted to be Polycletan (such as the bronze head by "Apollonios" at Naples, the head of the Naples statue, the marble *doryphoros* of the Vatican, the *diadoumenos* of Vaison, etc.) differ considerably among each other, and that these divergences from the established Polycletan type are much more marked in the *diadoumenos* of Vaison than in our head.

These deviations are to be found, first, in the fact that the general modelling of our head is less definite and clear-cut than in the "Apollonios" bronze. But this is probably due to the peculiarities of the marble technique in contradistinction to bronze work. I have already referred to the slight difference in the treatment of the line at the angle of brow and nose, which in our head is not so firm and severe, but is more rounded. The eyelids also are not cut with the same firmness.

But the most important difference is to be found in the treatment of the hair. No doubt, our head has suffered much by the wear of time, in that the sharpness of the ridges in the modelling of the hair has been lost. But the artist never gave the peculiar sharpness of the *doryphoros* hair to this head. Instead of the fine modelling of the single strands, not thickly undercut, lying flat over the scalp, which allow the shape of the skull to appear well-defined (so marked a feature in the hair of the *doryphoros*), the hair of our head is cut in larger, vague masses, slightly indicated; though the characteristic shape of the skull is not hidden by this treatment, as it usually is in such cases.

The deviations may be well accounted for by several causes. First, the difference between marble and bronze technique. The hair of the *doryphoros* marks that stage in bronze technique in which the locks are not cast in bold relief but follow the masses of the form, and the reminiscences of the older toreutic art in its finer engraving-work still assert themselves. The marble technique in the second half of the fifth century B. C., however, had introduced a freer treatment in broader masses, and in the work of detail some of the minute precision had been lost. But these differences of style have been remarked in the works hitherto ascribed to Polycletus. Furtwängler himself has pointed out² the difference in the style of the Amazon and the *doryphoros*. He gives *circa* 440 B. C. as the date of the Amazon. "But his *doryphoros* is certainly not later, but earlier than the Amazon, as the latter demands the existence of the former, and as its style, especially in the flat-lying hair, appears older." The date of the *doryphoros* would thus be earlier than 440 B. C.; and, if there are discrepancies in the treatment of hair between that work and the Amazon, how much greater must we expect the discrepancy to be between it and a work which cannot be earlier than 423 B. C.

Finally, we must bear in mind the original destination of different works as modifying the treatment of details. The hair as treated in a pedimental figure, or in one from a metope or a frieze, to be seen from a great distance, must necessarily be different from that of a work to be seen close at hand. If, for instance, Furtwängler is right in his ingenious identification of the Bologna bronze head with the head of the Lemnian Athena by Phidias, how could we ascribe this work, with its richly-modelled hair, and the lapith-heads from the metopes of the Parthenon, with their cap-like expanse of hair (no doubt assisted in the indication of texture by color), to the same Phidias origin—if we judged merely from the treatment of this detail.

Though, as I believe I have shown elsewhere, the comparison which Furtwängler makes between our head of Hera from the Heraeum and the small Brauronian head at Berlin, so far from showing any relationship between them reveals essential contrasts; still, even if we could trace some Attic elements in the Hera head

² *Meisterwerke der griech. Plastik*, p. 414.

and the other sculptures from the Heraeum, these would in no way make them Attic. For it would be strange if, with the advance made in marble work in Attica during the period of the artistic leadership of Phidias, and with all the sculptured decorations of the numerous buildings erected in this period at Athens, the sculptors working at the Heraeum more than twenty years later should not have felt the Attic influence, as probably the Parian marble-workers had, at an earlier period, influenced the Attic workers in marble technique. It would be a curious and unprecedented view to maintain that Polycletus and his school never worked in marble. Still, I suspect that this general view is held by Furtwängler, and that it is this general view which has led him to such a sweeping and hasty statement with regard to the sculptures from the Heraeum.

Should traces of Attic workmanship be found in some sculptures of the Argive school, it is probable that we may find Argive influences in the Attic work of this later period, as they have already been suggested by Petersen and others in earlier Attic work.

We must remember that, at the date of the building of the Heraeum, Phidias was dead, Polycletus was distinctly the most renowned sculptor of Greece, and that the Argive school under him was so famous and flourishing that its offshoots spread over Greece, and may have started that important school at Sicyon which made this town the most noted centre for painting as well as sculpture in the next century. If Lysippus is reported to have considered the *doryphoros* of Polycletus his teacher, no doubt many an artist contemporary with Polycletus was equally influenced by his works, even if such an artist lived at a distance. And there is one instance of a definite work upon which I must lay some stress. For I again venture to suspect that Furtwängler may have been guided in assigning an Attic origin to the Hera by the similarity of head-dress which this work has to the Caryatides of the Erechtheum. I had noticed this similarity; but I discarded any idea of the immediate identity of school, when I compared the rounded treatment of the faces of the Attic maidens with that of our head of Hera. Yet the similarity in other points is most natural, when we consider the proximity of date between the

building of the Athenian and the Argive temples. Furthermore, we must remember that among the famous works of Polycletus, according to Cicero (*in Verr.* iv. 3-5), were two Canephorae maidens which he represented in the Attic dress. The existence of such well-known works by the most famous sculptor of the day would well account for the similarity; *only it would be the Caryatides of the Erechtheum which would be influenced by the Argive work, and the Attic influence in the head-dress of the Hera would be illusory.*

But to return to our head of the *ephebos*. In spite of the differences in the treatment of the hair, the characteristics of this head are distinctly those of the *doryphoros* head, and it must thus be classed as Polycletan. It only confirms what all other arguments led us to believe, that all the works from the temple of Hera (in which Polycletus of Argos, the leading sculptor of the day, fashioned the famous gold and ivory statue) are Argive works of the Polycletan school, as the sculptures of the Parthenon are Attic works of the Phidias school. And it would require very powerful reasons and numerous definite facts to justify us in doubts of this natural ascription.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

August, 1894.



METOPÉ HEAD FROM THE ARGIVE HERÆUM.